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ACTION SLIP	
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Reg. PA
Mr. Cella
Mr. Leveque
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Mr. Malet.

A SOLIDARNOSC ADVISER LOOKS
HOPEFULLY AT THE FUTURE

P. A. Sub - Registry
File N° 19-10-01 (Poland)

SUMMARY: In a period of diminished tension Solidarnosc and the government are trying to develop ways of working together to solve several important social problems on the agenda. Commemoration of the 1968 student demonstrations may cause a new rise in tensions. Solidarnosc is beginning to consider its attitude towards economic issues. **END SUMMARY.**

A Solidarnosc Adviser told DCM February 20 that there is less tension in Poland now than at any time since last August. Both the government of Prime Minister Jaruzelski and Solidarnosc are ready and willing to take advantage of this situation to try to reach an agreement on ways of working together in future problem areas. An early meeting between the Prime Minister and Walesa can be anticipated now that the student sit-in and the peasants' strike in Rzeszow have been concluded with signed agreements settling most of their demands.

Problem areas still to be resolved are as follows:

A. Law on Censorship: Solidarnosc Adviser had little to say on this except that it was up to the government to come up with a draft bill to submit to the Sejm. (The government and the relevant Sejm Commission have differed on several key articles, and the government has been considering the Sejm Commission's draft language.)

B. Law on Trade Unions: Solidarnosc's objective is to try to have an article on the rural union included in the draft bill. Informal discussions began February 20 with the Chairman of the Sejm Commission for Legislative Work, Professor Sylwester Zawadzki, to see what the government has in mind, and the Commission meets February 21 to consider the draft bill. Solidarnosc would be willing to accept an article on the rural union in a law on peasants' self-government rather than in the law on trade unions, but it requires firm assurances from the government in this respect. The Solidarnosc Adviser believes that the government may be interested in pushing for early passage of a law on trade unions so that it can attend the ILO meeting in Geneva in June without feeling itself on the defensive, but this remains to be seen.

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C. Political Prisoners: The Solidarnosc Adviser said there are eight political prisoners, but only the case of Moczulski, Head of the Confederation of Polish Independence (KPN), presents a major problem. The government's evidence against the others does not amount to much. Solidarnosc recognizes that resolution of Moczulski's case will be difficult, but some suggestions have been put forward to the government. Although he was not specific, source mentioned a quick trial and a suspended sentence were among Solidarnosc's suggestions.

In exchange for progress and assurances in these areas, source said Solidarnosc might be able to accept the Prime Minister's offer of a 90-day period free of strikes. Both sides (and the Catholic Church as well) are aware of the need for a period of "social peace" and seem committed to work toward it.

In this connection, the Solidarnosc Adviser noted a potential major problem which could raise tensions again. This was Kor's campaign among the Warsaw student community to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the student demonstrations on March 8, 1968 against censorship and the closing of Mickiewicz's play "Dziady". The government will not tolerate public manifestations of this kind, and Solidarnosc is trying to prevail on Kor not to go through with it. This was, however, a matter dear to Jacek Kuron's heart since he was arrested and served several years in prison for his role in the 1968 demonstrations.

On the economic front, the Solidarnosc Adviser pointed to a meeting in Gdansk during the coming week of the Solidarnosc National Coordinating Committee at which a committee of economic experts would put forward a draft economic program for consideration. Among the major points the experts are including are the following:

--A moratorium on demands for increased wages (in recognition of the perilous economic situation);

--Proposals for workers' self-government;

--A plan to allow individual plants (management and workers' representatives) to decide on their own arrangements for Saturday work;

--A long-term economic reform plan in lieu of a stabilization program which can only hurt the workers.

On the international front, interlocutor confirmed to DCM that Solidarnosc wished to establish contact with all

international trade union federations on a bilateral basis but would not affiliate with any of them. In this regard, a meeting with a WFTU representative from Prague is possible in the near future.

On the internal Solidarnosc front, source said the union should complete the stage of electing officials at the plant level by the end of February, about a month late. Elections of officials at the regional level will take up the months of March and April and will be crucial to Solidarnosc's future role and activities. There are plans to reduce the number of provincial inter-factory strike committees to 15 or 20 to make the situation more manageable. A Solidarnosc trade union congress could, if everything went smoothly, be held in June, but if there are problems, an alternative time frame would be late August.

COMMENT: We share interlocutor's "hope" that the government and Solidarnosc are entering a new phase in their relationship--one of building up mutual respect and confidence and of working together on the spate of problems still confronting them. Nothing is being taken for granted, however. It is comforting to note that there are many informal, unpublicized meetings and links between government, Church and Solidarnosc representatives or advisers which provide ways for sounding out each others' position, putting forward informal suggestions and exchanging unofficial views without final commitment. If major storms can be avoided, as for example a massive commemoration of March 1968, the foundation for cooperation among the major forces in society can be established and gradually strengthened. Cooperation of this kind may be a lot to expect, but it seems as if people of good will on all sides are beginning to realize that this is the only basis on which a way out can be found for Polish problems.